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fled for fear that the Pakistani army might decide to make a pitched stand. Daily, and often hourly, Indian planes strafed air-ports in Dacca, Karachi and Islamabad. Some 300 children were said to have died in a Dacca orphanage when a piston-engine plane dropped three 750 lb. bombs on the Rahmat-e-Alam Islamic Mission near the airport while 400 children slept inside. (Pakistan claimed the plane was India's. Some Bengalis and foreign observers believed it was Pakistani, but other observers pointed out that the only forces known to be flying piston-engined aircraft were the Mukti Bahini, the Bengali liberation forces). Earlier in the week, two large bombs fell on workers' shanties near a jute mill in nearby Narayanganj, killing 275 people.

Forty workers died and more than 100 others were injured when they were caught by air strikes as they attempted to repair huge bomb craters in the Dacca airport runway. India declared a temporary moratorium on air strikes late last week so that the runway could be repaired and 400 U.N. relief personnel and other foreigners could be flown out. It was repaired, but the Pakistanis changed their mind and refused to allow the U.N.'s evacuation aircraft to land at Dacca, leaving U.N. personnel trapped as potential hostages. The International Red Cross declared Dacca's Intercontinental Hotel and nearby Holy Family Hospital "neutral zones" to receive wounded and provide a haven for foreigners.

For its part, the Pakistani army was said to have killed some Bengalis who, they believed, informed or aided the Indian forces. But the reprisals were not on a wide scale. Both civilian and military casualties were considered relatively light in East Bengal, largely because the Indian army skirted big cities and populated areas in an effort to avoid standoff battles with the retreating Pakistani troops.

The first major city to fall was Jessore. *TIME'S* William Stewart, who rode into the key railroad junction with the Indian troops, cabled: Jessore, India's first strategic prize, fell as easily as a mango ripened by a long Bengal summer. It shows no damage from fighting. In fact, the Pakistani 9th Division headquarters had quit Jessore days before the Indian advance, and only four battalions were left to face the onslaught.

"Nevertheless, two Pakistani battalions slipped away, while the other two were badly cut up. The Indian army

was everywhere wildly cheered by the Bengalis, who shouted: "Jai Bangla"; and "Indira Gandhi Zindabad." (Long live Indira Gandhi). In Jhingergacha, a half deserted city of about 5,000 nearby people gather to tell of their ordeal. "The Pakistanis shot us when we didn't understand," said one old man. "But they spoke Urdu and we speak Bengali".

Death Awaits

By no means all of East Bengal was freed of Pakistani rule last week. Pakistani troops were said to be retreating to two river ports, Narayanganj and Barisal, where it was speculated they might make a stand or alternatively seek route of escape. They were also putting up a strong defence in battalion-plus strength in three garrison towns where Indian forces reportedly had encircled them. The Indians have yet to capture the major cities of Chittagong and Dinajpur. Neither army permitted newsmen unreserved access to the contested areas, but on several occasions the Indian military command did allow reporters to accompany its forces. The three-pronged Indian pincer movement, however, moved much more rapidly than was earlier believed possible. Its success was largely attributed to decisive air and naval support.

Demoralised and in disarray, the Pakistani troops were urged to obey the "soldier-to-soldier" radio call to surrender, repeatedly broadcast by Indian Army Chief of Staff General Sam Manekshaw. "Should you not heed my advice to surrender to my army and endeavour to escape," he warned, "I assure you certain death awaits you". He also assured the Pakistanis that if they surrendered they would be treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention. To insure that the Mukti Bahini would also adhere to the Geneva code, India officially put the liberation forces under its military command.

Pakistani prisoners were reported surrendering in fair numbers. But many others seemed to be fleeing into the countryside, perhaps in hopes of finding escape routes disguised as civilians. "In some garrison towns stout resistance is being offered," said an Indian spokesman, "and though the troops themselves wish to surrender, they are being instructed by the generals: "Gain time. Something big may happen."

Hold on." He added sarcastically that the only big thing that could happen was that the commanders of the military regime in East Pakistan might pull a vanishing act.

All week long, meanwhile, the Pakistani regime kept up a running drumfire about Pakistan's jihad, or holy war, with India. An army colonel insisted there were no Pakistani losses whatsoever on the battlefield. His reasoning: "In the pursuit of jihad, nobody dies, he lives forever". Pakistan radio and television blared forth patriotic songs such as 'All of Pakistan Is Wide Awake' and "The Martyr's blood will not go wasted." The propaganda was accompanied by a totally unrealistic picture of the war. At one point, government spokesmen claimed that Pakistan had knocked out 123 Indian aircraft to a loss of seven of their own, a most unlikely kill ratio of nearly 18-to-1. Islamabad insisted that Pakistani forces were still holding on to the city of Jessore even though newsmen rode into the city only hours after its liberation.

Late last week, however, President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan's government appeared to be getting ready to prepare its people for the truth, the East is lost. An official spokesman admitted for the first time that the Pakistani air force was no longer operating in the East. Pakistani forces were "handicapped in the face of a superior enemy war machine" he said, and were outnumbered six to one by the Indians in terms of men and material—a superiority that seemed slightly exaggerated.

Sikhs and Gurkhas

As the fate of Bangladesh, and of Pakistan itself, was being decided in the East, Indian and Pakistani forces were making painful stabs at one another along the 1,400-mile border that reaches from the city heights of Kashmir through the flat plains of the Punjab down to the desert of western India. There the battle was being waged by bearded Sikhs wearing khaki turbans, tough flat-faced Gurkhas, who carry a curved knife known as a kukri in their belts, and many other ethnic strains. Mostly, the action was confined to border thrusts by both sides to straighten out salients that are difficult to defend.

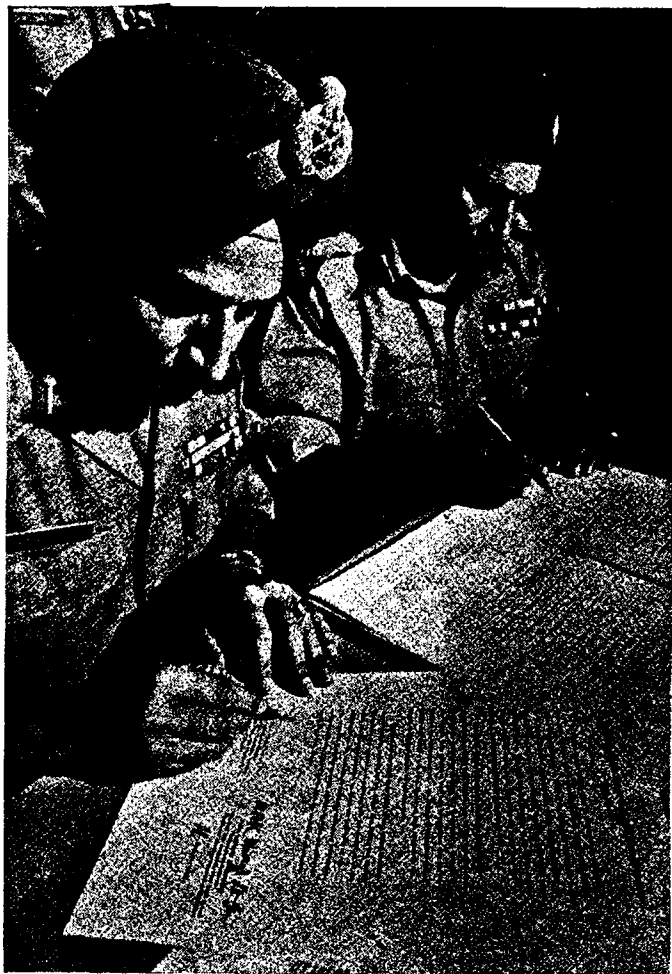
The battles have pitted planes, tanks, artillery against each other, and in fact both material losses and casualties appear to have run far higher than in the east. Most of the sites were the very places where the two armies slugged it out in their last war in 1965. Yet there were no all-out offensives. The Indian army's tactic was to maintain a defensive posture, launching no attacks except where they assisted its defences.

Old Boy Attitude

The bloodiest action was at Chhamb, a flat plateau about six miles from the ceasefire line that, since 1949, has divided the disputed Kashmir region almost equally between Pakistan and India. The Pakistanis were putting up "a most determined attack", according to an Indian spokesman, who admitted that Indian casualties had been heavy. But he added that Pakistani casualties were heavier. The Pakistanis aim was to strike for the Indian city of Jammu and the 200-mile-long Jammu-Srinagar highway, which links India with the Vale of Kashmir. The Indians were forced to retreat from the west bank of the Munawar Ravi River, where they had tried desperately to hold on.

Except for Chhamb and other isolated battles, both sides seemed to be going about the war with an "old boy" attitude: "If you don't really hit my important bases, I won't bomb yours". Behind all this, of course, is the fact that many Indian and Pakistani officers, including the two countries' commanding generals, went to school with one another at Sandhurst or Dehra Dun. India's commanding general in the east, Lieut.-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, was a classmate of Pakistan's President Yahya. "We went to school together to learn how best to kill each other," said one Indian officer.

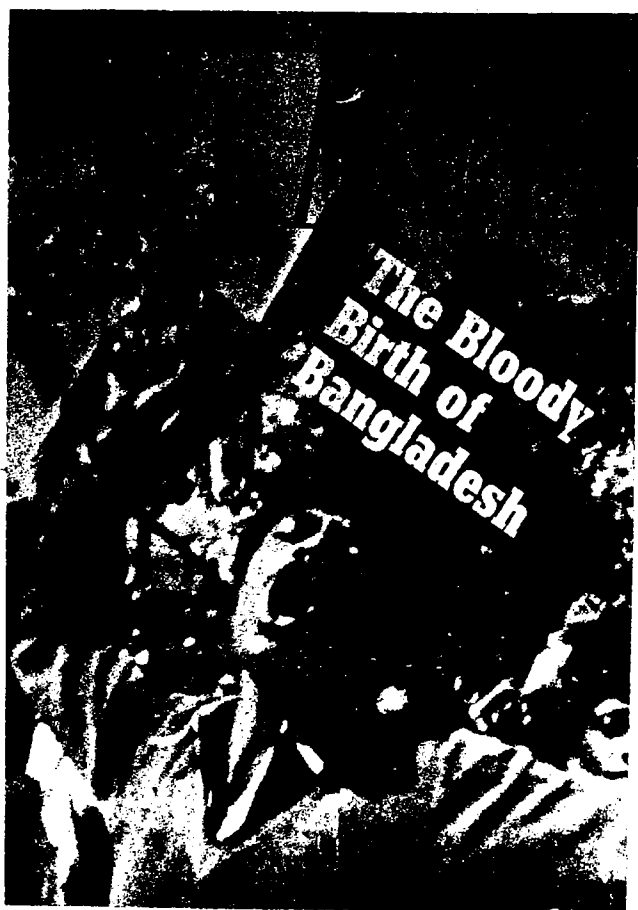
"To an outsider", TIME'S Marsh Clark cabled after a tour of the western front "the Indian army seemed precise, old-fashioned and sane. The closer you get to the front, the more tea and cookies you get," one American correspondent complained. But things get done. Convoys move up rapidly, artillery officers direct their fire with dispatch. Morale is extremely high, and Indian officers always refer to the Pakistanis, though rather condescendingly, as "those chaps."



The Passions of War: the generals stilled with their signatures.
Photo: Kishor Parekh.



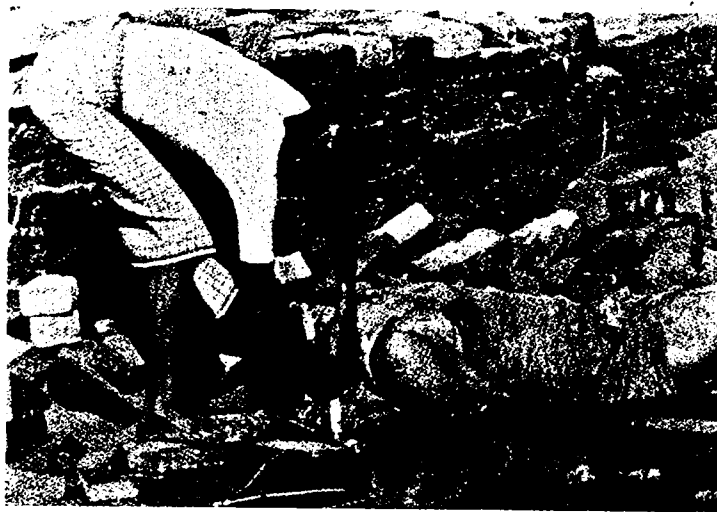
Bangladesh Guerrillas



Cover story : 20-12-71.



Bengal's elites dead in a ditch.
Photo : Kishor Parekh.



Mourners trying to identify the dead in a shallow ditch.
Photo : Kishor Parekh.

Abandoned Breeches

On a visit to Sehjra, a key town in a Pakistani salient that pokes into Indian territory east of Lahore where Indian troops were advancing, Clark found turbaned men working in the fields while jets flew overhead and artillery sounded in the distance. "There are free tea stalls along the road", he reported, "and teen-ages throw bags of nuts, plus oranges and bananas, into the jeeps carrying troops to the front, and shout encouragement. When our jeep stops, surround it and yell at us, demanding that we write a story saying their village is still free and not captured, as claimed by Pakistani radio."

"As we come up on the border, the Indian commander receives us. He recounts how his Gurkha soldiers kicked off the operation at 9 o'clock at night and hit the well-entrenched Pakistanis at midnight." "I think we took them by surprise" he says, "and an inspection of the hooch of the Pakistani area commanding officer confirms it. On his bed is a suitcase, its confusion indicating it was hastily packed. There are several shirts, some socks. And his trousers. Nice trousers of grey flannel made, according to the label, by M. Abbas, a tailor in Rawalpindi. The colonel, it is clear, has departed town and left his breeches behind".

South of Sehjra, Indian armoured units have been ploughing through sand across the West Pakistan border, taking hundreds of square miles of desert and announcing the advance of their troops to places that apparently consist of two palm trees and a shallow pool of brackish water. Among the enemy equipment reported captured: several camels. The reason behind this rather ridiculous adventure is the fear that Pakistan will try to seize large tracts of Indian territory to hold as ransom for the return of East Bengal. That now seems an impossibility with Bangla Desh, an independent nation, but India wants to have land in the west to bargain with.

The western part of India is on full wartime alert. All cities are completely blacked out at night, fulfilling as it were, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's warning that it would be a "long, dark December." Air-raid sirens wail almost continuously. During one 15-hour period in the Punjab there were eleven air raid alerts. One all clear was sounded by the jittery control room before the warning blast was given. The nervousness, though, was justified: two towns in the area had

been bombed with a large loss of life as Pakistani air force planes zipped repeatedly across the border. Included in their attacks was the city of Amritsar, whose Golden Temple is the holiest of holies to all Sikhs. At Agra, which was bombed in the Pakistanis' first blitz, the Taj Mahal was camouflaged with a forest of twigs and leaves and draped with burlap because its marble glowed like a white beacon in the moonlight.

The fact that India is not launching any major offensives in the eastern sector suggests that New Delhi wants to keep the war there as uncomplicated as possible. Though the two nations have tangled twice before in what is officially called the state of Jammu and Kashmir, neither country has gained any territory since the original ceasefire line was drawn in 1949. There are several reasons why New Delhi is not likely to try to press now for control of the disputed area.

The first is a doubt that the people of Azad Kashmir, as the Pakistani portion is called, would welcome control by India; in that case, India could be confronted with an embarrassing uprising. The second reason is that in 1963, shortly after India's brief but bloody war with China, Pakistan worked out a provisional border agreement with Peking ceding some 1,300 sq. miles of Kashmir to China. Peking has since linked up the old "silk route" highway from Sinkiang province to the city of Gilgit in Pakistani Kashmir with an all-weather macadam motor highway running down to the northern region of Ladakh near the ceasefire line. Should Indian troops get anywhere near China's highway or try to grasp its portion of Kashmir, New Delhi could expect to have a hustle with Peking on its hands.

Constant Harassment

Pakistan, on the other hand, has much to gain if it can wrest the disputed province, particularly the lush and fabled Vale, from Indian control. Strategically, the region is extremely important, bordering on both China and Afghanistan as well as India and Pakistan. Moreover, Kashmir's population is predominantly Moslem.

Still, the war was also beginning to take its toll on the people of West Pakistan. "The almost constant air raids over Islamabad, Karachi and other cities have brought deep

apprehension, even panic," Time's Louis Kraar cabled from Rawalpindi: "It is not massive bombing, just constant harassment—though there have been several hundred civilian casualties. Thus when the planes roar overhead, life completely halts in the capital and people scurry into trenches or stand in doorways with woollen shawls over their heads, ostrich-like. Because of the Kashmir mountains, the radar in the area does not pick up Indian planes until they are about 15 miles away."

"Pakistanis have taken to caking mud all over their autos in the belief that it camouflages them from Indian planes. In nightly blackouts, the road traffic moves along with absolutely no lights, and fear has prevailed so completely over commonsense that there has probably been more bloodshed in traffic accidents than in the air raids. The government has begun urging motorists only to shield their lights, but peasants throw stones at any car that keeps them on. In this uneasy atmosphere, Pakistani anti-aircraft gunners opened up on their own high-flying Sabre jets one evening last week. At one point, the military stationed an anti-aircraft machine gun atop the Rawalpindi Intercontinental Hotel, but guests convinced them it was dangerous".

Soviet Airlift

In New Delhi, the mood was not so much jingoism as jubilation that India's main goal—the establishment of a government in East Bengal that would ensure the return of the refugees—was accomplished so quickly. There was little surprise when Prime Minister Gandhi announced to both houses of Parliament early last week that India would become the first government to recognise Bangladesh. Still, members thumped their desks, cheered loudly and jumped in the aisles to express their delight. "The valiant struggle of the people of Bangladesh in the face of tremendous odds has opened a new chapter of heroism in the history of freedom movements", Mrs. Gandhi said. "The whole world is now aware that Bangladesh reflects the will of an overwhelming majority of the people, which not many governments can claim to represent".

There was little joy in New Delhi, however, over the Nixon Administration's hasty declaration blaming India for the war in the subcontinent, or over U.N. Ambassador George Bush's remark that India was guilty of "aggression." Indian officials were also reported shocked by the General Assembly's unusually swift and one-sided vote calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops.

Call For Armaments

Meanwhile, there was still the danger that other nations could get involved. Pakistan was reported putting pressure on Turkey, itself afflicted with internal problems, to provide ships, tanks, bazookas, and small arms and ammunition. Since Turkey obtains heavy arms from the U.S., it would be necessary to have American approval to give them to Pakistan. There was also a report that the Soviet Union was using Cairo's military airbase Almaza as a refuelling stop in flying reinforcements to India. Some 30 giant Antonov-12 transports, each capable of carrying two dismantled MIGs or two SAM batteries, reportedly touched down last week. The airlift was said to have displeased the Egyptians, who are disturbed over India's role in the war. For its part, Washington stressed that its SEATO and CENTO treaties with Pakistan in no way bind it to come to its aid.

If the Bangladesh government was not yet ensconced in the capital of Dacca by week's end, it did appear that its foundations had been firmly laid. As Mrs. Gandhi said in her speech to Parliament, the leaders of the People's Republic of Bangladesh—as the new nation will be officially known—"have proclaimed their basic principles of state policy to be democracy, socialism, secularism and establishment of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex or creed. In regard to foreign relations, the Bangladesh government have expressed their determination to follow a policy of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism, racialism and imperialism."

Bangladesh was born of a dream twice deferred. Twenty-four years ago, Bengalis voted to join the new nation of Pakistan, which had been carved out of British India as a

Moslem homeland. Before long, religious unity disintegrated into racial and regional bigotry as the autocratic Moslems of West Pakistan systematically exploited their Bengali brethren in the East. One year ago last week, the Bengalis thronged the polls in Pakistan's first free nationwide election, only to see their overwhelming mandate to Mujib brutally reversed by West Pakistani soldiers. That crackdown took a terrible toll: perhaps 1,000,000 dead, 10 million refugees, untold thousands homeless, hungry and sick.

The memories are still fresh of those who died of cholera on the muddy paths to India, or suffered unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the Pakistani military. And there are children, blind and brain-damaged, who will carry the scars of malnutrition for the rest of their lives. As a Bangladesh official put it at the opening of the new nation's first diplomatic mission in Delhi last week: "It is a dream come true, but you must also remember that we went through a nightmare".

Economic Prospects

How stable is the new nation? Economically, Bangladesh has nowhere to go but up. As Pakistan's eastern wing, it contributed between 50% and 70% of that country's foreign exchange earnings but received only a small percentage in return. The danger to East Bengal's economy lies mainly in the fact that it is heavily based on jute and burlap, and synthetic substitutes are gradually replacing both. But if it can keep all of its own foreign exchange, as it now will, it should be able to develop other industries. It will also open up trade with India's West Bengal, and instead of competing with India, may frame joint marketing policies with New Delhi. India also intends to help with Bangladesh's food problems in the next year.

One of the main conditions of India's support is that Bangladesh organise the expeditious return of the refugees and restore their lands and belongings to them. The Bangladesh government is also intent on seeking war reparations from Pakistan if possible.

What of West Pakistan? The loss of East Pakistan will, no doubt, be a tremendous blow to its spirit and a destabiliz-

ing factor in its politics. But the Islamabad regime, shorn of a region that was politically, logistically and militarily difficult to manage and stripped down to a population of 58 million, may prove a much more homogeneous unit. In that sense, the breakup could prove to be a blessing in disguise. Both nations, moreover, might be expected to get considerable foreign aid to help them back into their feet.

Leadership Vacuum

Last week Yahya announced the appointment of a 77-year old Bengali named Nurul Amin as the Prime Minister-designate for a future civilian government, to which he has promised to turn over some of his military regime's power. Amin figured in last December's elections, which precipitated the whole tragedy. In those elections Mujib's Awami League won 167 of the 169 Assembly seats at stake; Amin, an independent who enjoyed prestige as an elder statesman, won one of the two others. But he is essentially a figurehead, and former foreign minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was appointed his deputy, which means that he will probably have the lion's share of the power. That may come sooner than expected. There were reports last week that Yahya's fall from power may be imminent. Bhutto is a contemptuous, pro-Chinese politician who was instrumental in persuading Yahya in effect to set aside the results of the election and to keep Mujib from becoming Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Bangladesh's main difficulty, is apt to come from a leadership vacuum, should Yahya refuse to release Mujib, the spellbinding leader who has led the fight for Bengali civil liberties since partition. All of the Awami Leaguers who formed the provisional government of Bangladesh in exile last April are old colleagues of Mujib's and have grown accustomed to handling responsibilities since he went to prison. But running a volatile war-weakened new nation is considerably more difficult than managing a political party. The trouble is that none of them have the tremendous charisma that attracted million-strong throngs to hear Mujib. The top leaders, all of whom won seats in the aborted National Assembly last December by overwhelming margins, are:—Syed Nazrul Islam, 46, acting President in the absence of Mujib, a lawyer who frequently served as the Sheikh's

deputy in the past. He was active in the struggle against former President Ayub Khan, and when Mujib was thrown in jail, he led the party through the crisis.—Tajuddin Ahmed, 46, Prime Minister, a lawyer who has been a chief organiser in the Awami League since its founding in 1949. He is an expert in economics and is considered one of the party's leading intellectuals.—Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed, 53, Foreign Minister, a lawyer who was active in the Indian independence movement and helped found the Awami League.

The most immediate problem is to prevent a bloodbath in Bangladesh against non-Bengalis accused of collaborating with the Pakistani military. Toward this end, East Bengal government officials who chose to remain in Bangladesh through the fighting are being inducted into the new administration and taking over as soon as areas are liberated. Actually, India's recognition came earlier than planned. One reason was to circumvent a charge reportedly budding in the U.N. that India had joined the battle to annex the province to India. Another was to enable the Bangladesh government to assume charge as soon as large chunks of territory were liberated by the army. Since New Delhi does not want to be accused of having exchanged West Pakistani colonialism for Indian colonialism, it is expected to lean over backward to let the Bangladesh government to think its way.

The Walk Back

Is there any chance that the Pakistanis may yet engineer a startling turn of the tide, rout the Indians from the East and destroy the new nation in its infancy? Virtually none, as Correspondent Clark cabled: "Touts who are betting on the outcome between India and Pakistan might ponder the fact that two of the TIME correspondents who were visiting Pakistan this week (Clark in the West, Stewart deep in the East) were there with Indian forces".

And so at week's end the streams of refugees who walked so long and so far to get to India began making the long journey back home to pick up the threads of their lives. For some, there were happy reunions with relatives and friends, for others tears and the bitter sense of loss for those who will never return. But there were new homes to be raised,

new shrines to be built, and a new nation to be formed. The land was there too, lush and green.

"Man's history is waiting in patience for the triumph of the insulted man," Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel-Prizewinning Bengali poet, once wrote. Triumph he had, but at a terrible price. With the subcontinent at war, and the new-born land still wracked by bone-shattering poverty, the joy in Bangladesh was necessarily tempered by sorrow.

THE U.S. : A POLICY IN SHAMBLES

The Nixon Administration drew a fusillade of criticism last week for its policy on India and Pakistan. Two weeks ago, when war broke out between the two traditional enemies, a State Department spokesman issued an unusually blunt statement, placing the burden of blame on India. Soon after that, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, branded the Indian action as "aggression"—a word that Washington subsequently but lamely explained had not been "authorised".

Senator Edward Kennedy declared that the Administration had turned a deaf ear for eight months to "the brutal and systematic repression of East Bengal by the Pakistani army," and now was condemning "the response of India toward an increasingly desperate situation on its eastern borders". Senators Edmund Muskie and Hubert Humphrey echoed Kennedy's charges.

The critics were by no means limited to ambitious politicians. In the New York Times, John P. Lewis, one time U.S. A.I.D. director in India (1964-69) and now dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, wrote: "We have managed to align ourselves with the wrong side of about as big and simple a moral issue as the world has seen lately; and we have sided with a minor military dictatorship against the world's second largest nation." In Britain, the conservative London Daily Telegraph accused Washington of "a blundering diplomatic performance which can have few parallels".

Since March, when the Pakistani army staged a bloody crackdown in East Bengal, murdering hundreds of thousands

of civilians and prompting 10 million Bengalis to flee across the Indian border, the U.S. has been ostentatiously mild in its public criticism of the atrocities and of Pakistan's military ruler President Yahya Khan—a man whom President Nixon likes. Washington wanted to retain whatever leverage it had with the Pakistanis. Moreover, the Administration was grateful for Islamabad's help in arranging Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger's first secret trip to China last July. India was shaken by Washington's sudden gesture toward its traditional enemies, the Chinese, with whom it had fought a brief war in 1962. Behind the scenes, many State Department officials urged in vain that the Government take a harder line toward Yahya, for humanitarian as well as practical political reasons.

In the past five years, China has displaced the U.S. as Pakistan's chief sponsor. India, increasingly dependent on the Soviet Union for military aid, finally signed an important treaty of friendship with Moscow last summer. The U.S. was not solely responsible for driving the Indians into the Soviet camp; but its policy of not being beastly to Yahya convinced the Indians that they could not count on the U.S. for moral support. The result of the treaty—U.S. influence in India was virtually neutralised.

The Administration's current anger, however, stems from a more recent incident. During her trip to Washington last month, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi led President Nixon to believe that her country had no intention of going to war. Later, when the Indian army made what appeared to be a well-planned attack on East Pakistan, Washington officials concluded that Mrs. Gandhi's trip had been a smokescreen for massive war preparations. Richard Nixon was furious, and was behind the initial Government statements branding India the aggressor.

Last week, in an attempt to justify U.S. policy, Presidential Adviser Kissinger held a press briefing. (The remarks were supposed to be for "background use" only until Senator Barry Goldwater blew Kissinger's cover by printing a transcript of the briefing in the Congressional Record). Kissinger insisted that the U.S. had not really sided with Pakistan, but had been working quietly and intensively to bring about a peaceful political solution. Indeed, at the time

of the Indian attack, he claimed, U.S. diplomats had almost persuaded Yahya Khan and the Calcutta-based Bangladesh leadership to enter into negotiations. New Delhi had precipitated the fighting in East Pakistan, Washington believed, and refused to accept a ceasefire because it was determined to drive the Pakistani army out of East Bengal.

It can be argued, however, that Washington was guilty of an unfortunate naivete by believing that a political solution was possible after the passions of the Indians and Pakistanis had become so aroused. Given the continued existence of a power vacuum in East Bengal, it may have been as unrealistic to expect the Indians to refrain indefinitely from dealing their archenemy a crippling and permanent blow as to have expected the Israelis to halt their 1967 advance in the middle of the Sinai.

It is true that the new U.S. policy toward China has further restricted Washington's room for maneuver with the Indians, but this hardly explains or excuses the Administration's handling of recent affairs on the Indian sub-continent. Because of blunders in both substance and tone, the U.S. has (1) destroyed whatever chance it had to be neutral in the East Asian conflict; (2) tended to reinforce the Russia-India, China-Pakistan line-up; (3) seemingly placed itself morally and politically on the side of a particularly brutal regime, which, moreover, is an almost certain loser; and (4) made a shambles of its position on the sub-continent.

THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA January 16, 1972

THE INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER

The Pakistan Eastern Command agree to surrender all Pakistan Armed Forces in Bangla Desh to Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Indian and Bangla Desh forces in the Eastern Theatre. This surrender includes all Pakistan land, air and naval forces as also all para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops

under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

The Pakistan Eastern Command shall come under the orders of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora will be final, should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and guarantees the safety and well-being of all Pakistan military and para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistan origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

Sd/-

(Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi)
Lieutenant-General
Martial Law Administrator
Zone 'B' and Commander
Eastern Command
(Pakistan)
16 December, 1971.

Sd/-

(Jagjit Singh Aurora)
Lieutenant-General
General Officer Command-
ing in Chief, Indian and
Bangla Desh Forces in the
Eastern Theatre.
16 December, 1971.

NEWSWEEK January 17, 1972

MUJIB FLIES TO FREEDOM

All last week, Pakistan's new President, the fiery Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, acted as if he were a one-man information bureau on the welfare and whereabouts of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Yes, Bhutto allowed, Mujib had been treated severely during his imprisonment by the previous Pakistani regime. "He could do with a rest," Bhutto said solicitously of the Bengali leader, "but I doubt that he will find much time for one." Late in the week, after a series of private talks with Mujib, Bhutto at last made good his earlier pledge to release Mujib "unconditionally." Amidst tight secrecy, the Pakistani President escorted Mujib to Rawalpindi Airport in the middle of the night and put him aboard a chartered plane. "The bird has flown," reported the Pakistani President in a final, cryptic bulletin of a week of mysterious doings.

Part of the mystery was cleared up when Mujib's plane arrived at London's Heathrow Airport, and the world got its first look at the 51-year-old Bengali leader since he was thrown in jail last spring by Pakistan's former President Mohammed Yahya Khan. In a brief news conference at Claridge's, London's most elegant hotel, a tired and drawn Mujib spoke emotionally of his prison ordeal. "I was a prisoner in the condemned cell awaiting...hanging," he said. "From the day I went into jail, I didn't know whether I was to live or not. I was mentally ready to die. But I knew that Bangladesh would be liberated." Asked about the possibility of some sort of association with Pakistan, Mujib said: "Unfortunately, it's not possible for us to live together because of the way they have behaved with my people." (On a more personal note, Mujib had his first opportunity to telephone his family during the London stopover. "Are you all alive? How is your mother?" he excitedly asked his son, Kemal. But the Begum Mujib was too choked with emotion to speak to her husband during that first call.)

Hero

Barely 24 hours after his arrival in London, Mujib flew off for home, and he must have wondered how he would be received by his people after an absence of almost ten months. From all indications, his return would be a triumph befitting the first national hero of Bangladesh. The overwhelming majority of East Bengalis remember him as an untiring, courageous politician, a spellbinding orator and a leader whose presence inspired pride and hope. Nonetheless, by his own account, Mujib had been held prisoner "in the worst place imaginable...solitary confinement, no radio, no letters, no communications with the outside world." And there were rumours that, as a result of the mistreatment he suffered while in jail, some of the old fire that once characterised Mujib was now missing.

Perhaps all that is required to fire Mujib up again, however, is for him to plunge into the drastically altered political situation of East Bengal. Certainly, there are plenty of problems waiting for him back home. Even in normal times, East Bengal is one of the most impoverished, overcrowded corners of the world. But today, after almost a year of violence, conditions there are immeasurably worse. The economy is in a shambles. Many of the 10 million Bengali refugees who fled to India during the conflict are on the way home—expecting to be fed, housed and given jobs. Worse yet, thousands of Bengali intellectuals were murdered by the West Pakistan Army and by right-wing Moslem extremists, leaving the new nation desperately short of skilled administrators.

Before Mujib tackles these problems, however, he will have to re-establish security throughout Bangladesh. During the struggle last year for Bengali nationhood, a sympathetic Indian Government supplied some 100,000 rifles to local Mukti Bahini guerrillas. And despite repeated orders from the provisional government in Dacca, most rebel soldiers have yet to turn in their arms. Many people fear that Mukti Bahini extremists might decide to turn their weapons against their former oppressors, especially the Biharis of East Bengal who collaborated with the West Pakistan Army. It is no secret that Bangladesh's 2 million Biharis place their trust in Mujib as the one person who might be able to prevent this kind of

vengeance from becoming a bloody reality. Thus an early test of Mujib's effectiveness will be his ability to guarantee the safety and welfare of the non-Bengali minorities in his country.

Rebuilding

At the same time, Mujib must rebuild the country's war-shattered economy, repair its bridges and rail links, open up the ports, reorganise the civil service and armed forces and rehabilitate millions of refugees. According to Bangladesh Government estimates, this massive task may cost as much as \$4 billion all told. "Where we will get this money from remains to be seen," Bangladesh Home Minister A.H.M. Kamaruzzaman admitted candidly. "Besides pooling our own resources, which are very little at the moment, we shall have to depend on friendly countries." Quite clearly, the friendly country that Bangladesh will depend most heavily on for the foreseeable future is India.

Indeed, the Indians are currently in Bangladesh in force. In the last two weeks, administrative experts and economists have been flown in from Calcutta, a naval task force has set up headquarters in Dacca and, of course, the Indian Army is everywhere trying to maintain order. Yet, the Indian presence has already proved to be something of a political embarrassment, since it has been cited by some foreign governments as the reason they have not yet extended formal diplomatic recognition to Bangladesh. Accordingly, despite his long-term dependence on Indian technical, material and monetary assistance, Mujib will probably begin negotiations with New Delhi aimed at arranging a withdrawal of at least the more visible Indian elements. Last week, in fact, Indian military officials jauntily predicted that all their troops would be out of Bangladesh in three or four months, by which time the Dacca government should have organised its own national militia.

Devotion

That optimistic assessment assumes that the leaders of Bangladesh continue to work in concert. But as the euphoria of victory fades, internal bickering will almost

inevitably mount. Even before Mujib's return, the politicians were, as one Bengali put it, "growing," and it was difficult to tell whether acting President Syed Nazrul Islam or Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed was in control. For the present, no East Bengali political leader is in a position to challenge Mujib openly, and virtually all of them have made public professions of their total devotion to Mujib. In private, however, the conversation is not always so admiring. "Mujib as politician and Mujib as administrator are two very different things," said one discreet critic. "In a curious way, he already belongs to the past."

Thus, Mujib may have to prove himself to his people all over again. He will have his undeniable charism and overwhelming prestige working for him. Still, some Bengalis believe that those politicians who formed the Bangladesh government-in-exile during his absence will not lightly give up their power. They may try to set Mujib up as the **Bangabandhu**, "Friend of Bengal," and then shuffle him off into a figurehead role. But those who know him best are convinced that, unless prison has broken the man in spirit, Mujib will not be content with anything less than a central role in the nation he was instrumental in creating.

TIME Magazine January 17, 1972

BANGLADESH

MUJIB'S ROAD FROM PRISON TO POWER

To some Western observers, the scene stirred thoughts of Pontius Pilate deciding the fates of Jesus and Barabbas. "Do you want Mujib freed?" cried Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, at a rally of more than 100,000 supporters in Karachi. The crowd roared its assent, as audiences often do when subjected to Bhutto's powerful oratory. Bowing his head, the President answered: "You have relieved me of a great burden."

Thus last week Bhutto publicly announced what he had previously told TIME Correspondent Dan Coggin: his decision

to release his celebrated prisoner, Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, the undisputed political leader of what was once East Pakistan, and President of what is now the independent country of Bangladesh.

Five days later, after two meetings with Mujib, Bhutto lived up to his promise. He drove to Islamabad Airport to see Mujib off for London aboard a chartered Pakistani jetliner. To maintain the utmost secrecy, the flight left at 3 a.m. The secret departure was not announced to newsmen in Pakistan until ten hours later, just before the arrival of the Shah of Iran at the same airport for a six-hour visit with Bhutto. By that time Mujib had reached London—tired but seemingly in good health. "As you can see, I am very much alive and well," said Mujib, jauntily puffing on a brier pipe. "At this stage I only want to be seen and not heard."

A few hours later, however, after talking by telephone with India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in New Delhi and with the acting President of Bangladesh, Syed Nazrul Islam in Dacca, Mujib held a press conference in the ballroom of Claridge's Hotel. While scores of jubilant East Bengalis gathered outside the hotel, Mujib called for world recognition of Bangladesh which he described as "an unchallengeable reality," and asked that it be admitted to the United Nations.

Clearly seething with rage, Mujib described his life "in a condemned cell in a desert area in the scorching heat," for nine months without news of his family or the outside world. He was ready to be executed, he said. "And a man who is ready to die, nobody can kill." He knew of the war, he said, because "army planes were moving, and there was the black-out." Only after his first meeting with Bhutto did he know that Bangladesh had formed its own government. Of the Pakistani army's slaughter of East Bengalis, Mujib declared: "If Hitler could have been alive today, he would be ashamed."

Mujib spoke well of Bhutto, however, but emphasised that he had made no promise that Bangladesh and Pakistan would maintain a link that Bhutto anxiously wants to have. "I told him I could only answer that after I returned to my people," said the Sheikh. Why had he flown to London instead of to Dacca or some closer neutral point? "Don't you know I was the prisoner?" Mujib snapped. "It was the Pakistan government's will, not mine". Mujib's stay in

THE SUNDAY TIMES

INSIGHT
Consumer Unit

THE NEW YEAR
DONALD BURGESS

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NEWS DIGEST

Sir Burke tipped as new BBC chairman

It is widely expected that Sir Robert Burke will be appointed as the new chairman of the BBC. Sir Burke, who has been a member of the BBC Council since 1968, is a former director of the BBC and has been a member of the BBC Council since 1968. He is a former director of the BBC and has been a member of the BBC Council since 1968. He is a former director of the BBC and has been a member of the BBC Council since 1968.

US offering cash in Malta peace bid

The United States has offered to provide financial assistance to Malta in the event of a successful peace settlement. The offer is part of a broader US policy to support peace in the Mediterranean region. The offer is part of a broader US policy to support peace in the Mediterranean region.

Jenkins to visit Bangladesh

James Callaghan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, is expected to visit Bangladesh in the near future. The visit is part of a series of diplomatic missions aimed at strengthening relations between the UK and Bangladesh.

Best: 'No wedding'

The Queen's husband, Prince Philip, has been named as the best man at the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana. The wedding is expected to take place in the near future.

Blast injures 26

A bomb explosion in a crowded public place has resulted in the deaths of two people and the injuries of 26 others. The explosion occurred in a crowded public place.

Sheikh Mujib in London



Sunday Times exclusive: How Bangladesh leader escaped last-minute execution

By Anthony Marston
A LAST-MINUTE plea by General Yahya Khan to the British Government to spare Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from execution has been accepted. The British Government has agreed to spare Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from execution.

On December 4, the day after the fall of the Pakistani regime, General Yahya Khan announced the execution of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The British Government, however, had already agreed to spare him. The British Government had already agreed to spare him.

General Yahya Khan, the Pakistani military leader, had ordered the execution of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The British Government, however, had already agreed to spare him.

The British Government's decision to spare Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has been widely welcomed. The British Government's decision to spare him has been widely welcomed.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of Bangladesh, has been spared execution. The British Government has agreed to spare him.

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Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of Bangladesh, has been spared execution. The British Government has agreed to spare him.

NCB: Strike may kill some pits

By Eric Jordan
A STRIKE by the National Coal Board (NCB) could result in the closure of some coal pits. The NCB has announced that it is considering a strike.

The NCB's decision to consider a strike has been widely criticized. The NCB's decision to consider a strike has been widely criticized.

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Down landing drama

By Nicholas Davies
A dramatic landing of a helicopter in a crowded public place has resulted in the deaths of two people and the injuries of several others. The helicopter landed in a crowded public place.

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Police live with family for two

A family has been living with the police for two days after a violent argument. The family has been living with the police for two days.

The family's situation has been widely criticized. The family's situation has been widely criticized.

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OVERCOATS	Double price	Sale price
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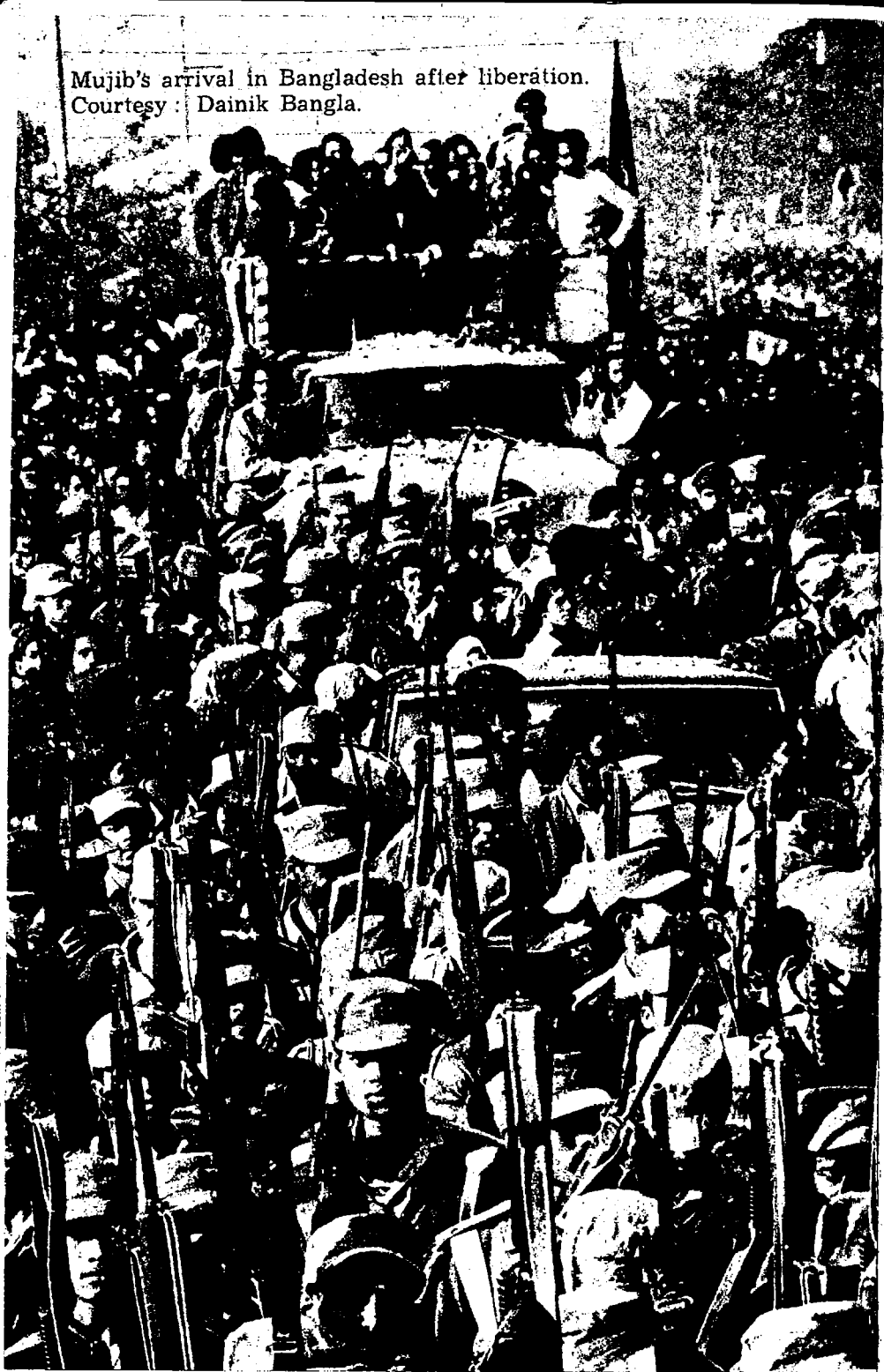
Victory wave from Claridges: "I can not return too soon to my people".
Sunday Times: 9-1-72.

Mujib's wife with son Russell.
Newsweek : 6-12-71.



Sheikh Mujib in London Airport after being released
from West Pakistan jail.
Time : 17-1-72.

Mujib's arrival in Bangladesh after liberation.
Courtesy : Dainik Bangla.



London lasted only 24 hours. On Sunday he flew off in an R.A.F. jet to New Delhi and then to a triumphal welcome in Dacca.

Little Choice

Although Mujib's flight to London rather than to Dacca was something of a surprise, his release from house arrest was not. In truth, Bhutto had little choice but to set him free. A Mujib imprisoned, Bhutto evidently decided, was of no real benefit to Pakistan; a Mujib dead and martyred would only have deepened the East Bengalis' hatred of their former countrymen. But a Mujib allowed to return to his rejoicing people might perhaps be used to coax Bangladesh into forming some sort of loose association with Pakistan.

In the light of Mujib's angry words about Pakistan at the London press conference, Bhutto's dream of reconciliation with Bangladesh appeared unreal. Yet some form of association may not be entirely beyond hope of achievement. For the time being, Bangladesh will be dependent upon India for financial, military and other aid. Bhutto may well have been reasoning that sooner or later the Bangladesh leaders will tire of the presence of Indian troops and civil servants, and be willing to consider a new relation with their humbled Moslem brothers. Bangladesh, moreover, may find it profitable and even necessary to re-establish some of the old trade ties with Pakistan. As Bhutto put it: "The existing realities do not constitute the permanent realities."

Stupendous Homecoming

One existing reality that Bhutto could hardly ignore was Bangladesh's euphoric sense of well-being after independence. When the news reached Bangladesh that Mujib had been freed, Dacca began preparing a stupendous homecoming for its national hero. All week long the capital had been electric with expectation. In the wake of the first reports that his arrival was imminent, Bengalis poured into the streets of Dacca, shouting, dancing, singing, firing rifles into the air and roaring the now-familiar cry of liberation "**Joy Bangla.**"

Many of the rejoicing citizens made a pilgrimage to the small bungalow where Mujib's wife and children had been held captive by the Pakistani army. The Begum had spent the day fasting. "When I heard the gunfire in March it was to kill the people of Bangladesh," she tearfully told the well-wishers. "Now it is to demonstrate their joy."

The people of Bangladesh will need all the joy that they can muster in the next few months. The world's newest nation is also one of its poorest. In the aftermath of the Pakistani army's rampage last March, a special team of inspectors from the World Bank observed that some cities looked "like the morning after a nuclear attack." Since then, the destruction has only been magnified. An estimated 6,000,000 homes have been destroyed, and nearly 1,400,000 farm families have been left without tools or animals to work their lands. Transportation and communications systems are totally disrupted. Roads are damaged, bridges out and inland waterways blocked.

The rape of the country continued right up until the Pakistani army surrendered a month ago. In the last days of the war, West Pakistani-owned businesses—which included nearly every commercial enterprise in the country—remitted virtually all their funds to the West. Pakistan International Airlines left exactly 117 rupees (\$16) in its account at the port city of Chittagong. The army also destroyed bank notes and coins, so that many areas now suffer from a severe shortage of ready cash. Private cars were picked up off the streets or confiscated from auto-dealers and shipped to the West before the ports were closed.

Ruined Gardens

The principal source of foreign exchange in Bangladesh—\$ 207 million in 1969-70—is jute ; it cannot be moved from mills to markets until inland transportation is restored. Repairing vital industrial machinery smashed by the Pakistanis will not take nearly as long as making Bangladesh's ruined tea gardens productive again. Beyond that, the growers, whose poor-quality, lowland tea was sold almost exclusively to West Pakistan, must find alternative markets for their product. Bangladesh must also print its own cur-

rency and, more important, find gold reserves to back it up. "We need foreign exchange, that is, hard currency," says one Dacca banker. "That means moving the jute that is already at the mills. It means selling for cash, not in exchange for Indian rupees or East European machinery. It means getting foreign aid, food, relief, and fixing the transportation system, all at the same time. It also means chopping imports."

The Bangladesh Planning Commission is more precise. It will take \$ 3 billion just to get the country back to its 1969-70 economic level (when the per capita annual income was still an abysmally inadequate \$ 30). In the wake of independence, the government of Bangladesh, headed by Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam and Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed, has instituted stringent measures to control inflation, including a devaluation of the rupee in terms of the pound sterling (from 15 to 18), imposing a ceiling of \$ 140 a month on all salaries and limiting the amount of money that Bengalis can draw from bank. Such measures hit hardest at the urban, middle-class base of the dominant Awami League, but there has been little opposition, largely because most Bengalis seem to approve of the moderately socialist course laid out by the government. Last week Nazrul Islam announced that the government will soon nationalise the banking, insurance, foreign trade and basic industries as a step toward creating an "exploitation-free economy."

Not the least of the new nation's problems is the repatriation of the 10 million refugees who fled to India. As of last week, Indian officials said that more than 1,000,000 had already returned, most of them from the states of West Bengal and Tripura. To encourage the refugees, camp officials gave each returning family a small gift consisting of a new set of aluminium kitchen utensils, some oil, charcoal, a piece of chocolate, two weeks' rations of rice and grain and the equivalent of 50c in cash.

Within Bangladesh, transit camps have been set up to provide overnight sleeping facilities. The government acknowledges that it will need foreign aid and United Nations assistance. Some U.N. supplies are already stockpiled in the ports, awaiting restoration of distribution facilities.

The political future of Bangladesh is equally uncertain. For the moment, there is all but universal devotion to the

words and wisdom of Mujib, but whether he can institute reforms quickly enough to maintain his total hold on his countrymen is another question. Many of the more radical young guerrillas who fought with the Mukti Bahini (liberation forces) may not be content with the moderate course charted by the middle-aged politicians of the Awami League. Moreover, the present Dacca government is a very remote power in country villages where the local cadres of the Mukti Bahini are highly visible.

Already the guerrillas have split into factions, according to India's Sunanda Datta-Ray in the *Statesman*. The elite Mujib Bahini, named after the Sheikh, has now begun to call itself the "Mission," and one of its commanders, Ali Ashraf Chowdhury, 22, told Datta-Ray: "We will never lay down our arms until our social ideals have been realised". Another guerrilla put the matter more bluntly: "For us the revolution is not over. It has only begun." So far the Mujib Bahini has done a commendable job of protecting the Biharis, the non-Bengali Moslems who earned Bengali wrath by siding with the Pakistani army. But the government is anxious to disarm the Mujib Bahini, and has plans to organise it into a constabulary that would carry out both police and militia duties.

Front Windshields

Despite its ravaged past and troubled future, Bangladesh is still a lovely land to behold, according to Time's William Stewart. "There is little direct evidence of the fighting along the main highway from Calcutta to Dacca," he cabled from Dacca last week, "although in some areas there are artillery-shell craters and the blackened skeletons of houses. Local markets do a brisk business in fruit and staple goods, but by Bengali standards many of the villages are all but deserted.

"Dacca has all the friendliness of a provincial town, its streets filled with hundreds of bicycle-driven rickshas, each one painted with flowers and proudly flying the new flag of Bangladesh. In fact, every single car in Dacca flies the national flag, and many have Mujib's photo on the front windshield. The city is dotted with half-completed construction projects, including the new capital buildings designed by U.S. Architect Louis Kahn. Some day, when and if they are

completed, Dacca will find itself with a collection of public buildings that might well be the envy of many a richer and more established capital.

"But whether you arrive at Dacca's war-damaged airport or travel the tree-lined main road from Calcutta, it is the relaxed, peaceful atmosphere that is most noticeable. Even as travel to Bangladesh becomes more difficult, customs and immigration officials are genuinely friendly and polite, smiling broadly, cheerily altering your entry forms so that you conform with the latest regulations. There is no antagonism to individual Americans. Once it is known that you are an American, however, the inevitable question is: How could the Nixon Administration have behaved the way that it did? There is in fact an almost universal belief that the American people are with them."

"That sentiment was echoed by Tajuddin Ahmed, who told me in an interview: "The Nixon Administration has inflicted a great wound. Time heals wounds, of course, but there will be a scar. We are grateful to the American press, intellectual leaders and all those who raised their voices against injustice. Pakistan turned this country into a hell. We are very sorry that some administrations of friendly countries were giving support to killers of the Bengali nation. For the people of Bangladesh, any aid from Nixon would be disliked. It would be difficult, but we do not bear any lasting enmity."

Great Man Or Rabble-Rouser

The history of the Indian sub-continent for the past half-century has been dominated by leaders who were as controversial as they were charismatic: Mahatma Gandhi, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Jawaharlal Nehru. Another name now seems likely to join that list: Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. To his critics, Mujib is a vituperative, untrustworthy rabble-rouser. To most of the people of his new nation, he is a patriot-hero whose imprisonment by West Pakistan has only enhanced his appeal. "He was a great man before," says one Bangladesh official, "but those bastards have made him even greater."

Even his detractors concede that Mujib has the personal qualifications to become an extremely effective popular leader. He is gregarious, highly emotional and remarkably attuned to the needs and moods of his supporters. He has an uncanny ability to remember names and faces. Mujib is also a spell-binding orator with a simplistic message and a pungent, fervent style.

It is not yet clear whether Mujib is more profound than his stirring rhetoric. His political success so far is due largely to his ability to marshal public opinion in East Bengal by blaming all of its troubles on its former rulers in West Pakistan. He has a tendency to make extravagant promises, and to oversimplify complex economic and agricultural problems. "My brothers," he once told a gathering of East Pakistani jute farmers, "do you know that the streets of Karachi are paved with gold, and that it is done with your money earned from exporting jute?"

Mujib's supporters insist that he has shown a capacity for growth. He was born 51 years ago, one of six children of a middle-class family that lived on a farm in Tongipara, a village about 60 miles southwest of Dacca. At ten, Mujib displayed the first signs of a social conscience by distributing rice from the family supplies to tenant farmers who helped work the property. "They were hungry, and we have all these things," the boy explained to his irate father, an official of the local district court.

As a youth, Mujib developed a strong antipathy to British rule. While a seventh-grader, he was jailed for six days for agitating in favour of India's independence. A long bout with beriberi left his eyes weakened, and Mujib belatedly finished high school when he was 22.

After earning a B.A. in history and political science at Calcutta's Islamia College—where he developed a taste for the writings of Bernard Shaw and Indian Poet Rabindranath Tagore—Mujib enrolled as a law student at Dacca University. He supported a strike by the university's menial workers, and quickly found himself in jail once again. He indignantly rejected an offer to be set free on bail. "I did not come to the university to bow my head to injustice," he said grandly. When he got out of jail, Mujib discovered that he had been

expelled from the university. He promptly set out on a turbulent political career and spent 10½ of the next 23 years behind bars. "Prison is my other home," he once shrugged.

Between jail terms, Mujib helped found the progressive Awami (People's) League of East Pakistan, and in 1954 briefly served as the provincial minister in charge of industry and fighting corruption. Mujib had long been disillusioned by the exploitation of poorer East Pakistan by the more dominant western half of the divided nation. He was further disenchanted by the 1965 war with India. Like many other Bengalis, he was appalled to discover that the West Pakistanis had left the country's eastern sector virtually undefended. The next year, Mujib propounded his now famous six points, which demanded domestic autonomy for East Pakistan within a confederation with the West. Field-Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan rejected the demands as a secessionist conspiracy, and had Mujib and other Awami League officials arrested and taken to West Pakistan. When Mujib was released for lack of evidence in 1969, more than 1,000,000 people turned out to greet him at a home-coming rally at Dacca's Race Course. By then East and West Pakistan already were drifting toward the course that led to Mujib's imprisonment in West Pakistan—and to last month's war.

As was customary in East Bengali villages, Mujib was pledged to his wife in an arranged marriage when she was three and he 14. They have five children ranging from a 6 year old son to a 25 year-old married daughter, who recently gave birth to a boy. Soon after his return to Bangladesh, Mujib will get his first look at the new grandchild, whose name, Joi, was taken from the new country's wartime rallying cry, **Joi Bangla!**—Victory to Bengal!

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